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INTERVIEW GRANTED
BY
STATE COUNCIL PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
TO
JOHN P. WALLACH
CHIEF DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT
OF THE
"HEARST" PRESS CORPORATION OF THE USA

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On October 1, 1970, Nicolae Ceaușescu, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania received the American journalist John P. Wallach, chief diplomatic correspondent of the "Hearst" Press Corporation, to whom he granted an interview:

QUESTION: How do you appreciate the evolution of the relations between the United States and Romania since President Nixon's visit in Bucharest?

ANSWER: President Nixon's visit to Romania and the talks we have had on the occasion accounted for an important moment in the evolution of the relations between the United States of America and Romania. Certainly, our countries have different social systems; the exchanges with the USA are part of Romania's general policy of developing relations with all the states, irrespective of social system, based on fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, on non-interference in internal affairs and of course, on mutual advantage.

After President Nixon's visit to Romania, the relations between our countries have witnessed progress, but I should mention that this progress is still little and below the level of our possibilities and of our wish to develop the economic and technico-scientific links with the USA. I consider that the development of the relations between Romania and the USA is to the advantage of both states and at the same time accords with the cause of detente and international cooperation. In order to ensure a more sustained progress to these relations I felt it necessary that some restrictions be eliminated both as concerns US exports to this country and imports from Romania. I mean inter alia also the need for a settlement of the problem of the clause of the most favoured

nation and other measures meant to contribute to the positive evolution of the Romanian-American relationship.

I have had recently a talk with a group of American senators and members of the House of Representatives. I have been pleasantly impressed by the fact that all of them spoke in support of the development of relations with Romania.

I wish to state my conviction that fresh possibilities for expanded cooperation will be created - in the sphere of economy, technology and science - between Romania and the United States of America. This will contribute to strengthening friendship between our peoples and, at the same time, to the cause of promoting inter-state collaboration and cooperation in international life.

QUESTION: Did the recent developments in the Near East affect progress on the line of a European conference of security? Does Romania intend to undertake fresh initiatives in order to help the conference to come true? Do the bilateral treaties which have been successfully concluded, such as the recent one signed between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, help paving the way to a security conference?

ANSWER: As is well-known, a series of developments occurred of late which have led to the aggravation of the situation in the Near East. The war in Indochina also continues, as well as other conflicts. All this has a negative impact on the political life on all continents. Peace in the world today is indivisible and, in one form or another, the existence of hotbeds of tension or of war in one part of the Globe involves the whole international climate, has an impact on all the peoples. Therefore, Romania is interested in an urgent end to the wars I have referred to, in the extinction of the hotbeds of tension, in the re-establishment of peace in the respective regions, by setting out from the necessity of respect for every people's right to decide its own destiny without any outside interference.

As to Europe, I may say that it is precisely the

existing hotbeds of tension and conflicts which determine the European states to carry on a sustained activity for the achievement of security on our continent. Europe has witnessed two devastating wars in the first half of this century and all of us know what great harm has been entailed by these wars to the development of each nation. We appreciate that there are favourable conditions for the achievement of a Conference of the European states which should open the road to fresh progress in the attainment of security on the continent, to the establishment of new inter-state relations excluding the use of force or threat with force in the settlement of international questions and should at the same time create conditions for an ample economic and technico-scientific cooperation without restrictions and curbs.

To this end, Romania which participated in initiating the socialist countries' proposal concerning the organization of such a conference is acting firmly and developing amply contacts with all the states of Europe, for the achievement of the All-European Conference.

We appreciate that the development of relations between countries, the successful conclusion of bilateral negotiations, are of a nature to contribute to improving the climate on our continent: as a matter of fact, this applies to all continents. We stand for bilateral contacts and agreements in various domains of activity, convinced as we are that they serve the cause of security, cooperation and peace. In this connection we believe that the signing of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany is of high importance for the evolution of the relations between those two states as well as for the creation of an improved atmosphere in Europe, for ensuring propitious conditions for the development of collaboration and cooperation in various domains between the European states, consequently also for paving the way to a European conference aimed at the achievement of security on the continent. I appreciate

that the achievement of this conference and the improvement of the general climate in Europe serves not only the interests of the European states, but of all the peoples, the interest of a better international collaboration and cooperation.

Of course, we believe that a conference of the European states must be prepared thoroughly. Such preparation presupposes also preliminary meetings in which all the countries concerned should participate. In fact, there are prospects at present for holding such preparatory meetings.

It is pursued - and this is also included in the Memorandum of the socialist countries of last June in Budapest - that at a first meeting a permanent body of the European states should be brought into being, and I believe that this would be of high significance in the future development of the inter-European relations, in preparation for further meetings and in the achievement of new progress along the line of security. Such a body might discuss - as has been agreed on the occasion - also the problem of reducing foreign troops. We view European security finally without blocs and without foreign military bases, that is also without foreign troops on the territories of other states. This presupposes the realization of a climate of trust and cooperation in Europe - by ensuring the independence and sovereignty of each state - which should render useless military blocs and the presence of foreign troops. This is one of the fundamental targets of security on the continent; of course, it cannot be achieved right from the beginning but it is the goal towards which we proceed.

As you know, it is envisaged that the USA and Canada too, should take part in the conference on European security.

In the world today, all the countries - bigger or smaller - have a serious say in international life; the settlement of international questions can be effected only by the participation of all countries. If all the European states will pool efforts and will act in support of normalizing the

relations on the continent, security in this part of the world will be achieved faster, in the interest of the cause of world peace.

QUESTION: How do you view the place of the People's Republic of China in the present-day international life, her participation in the U.N., the development of relations with that country?

ANSWER: I want to stress that the People's Republic of China is an important factor in international life today, which can no longer be ignored by anybody. Under the present conditions a lasting solution of the big international problems, the development of an ample and multilateral international cooperation is no longer conceivable without China's participation.

As to the participation of the People's Republic of China in the U.N., the problem is very simple: China is a U.N. member, she is among the founding members of this Organization; she is also a permanent member of the Security Council. This big country is, however, prevented from occupying its due place in the international bodies. The U.N. must take into account realities and the rights the People's Republic of China is entitled to in these bodies must be restored to her. I do not know another China! Taiwan cannot be considered to be China; it is a Chinese territory and is an internal problem of China. The U.S.A. must withdraw its military bases from Taiwan allowing the problems to be solved by the Chinese people.

As is known, Romania has good relations, on all levels, with the People's Republic of China. Other states too, develop cooperation with China. We appreciate that an improvement in the relations between the People's Republic of China and the USSR has occurred of late, and we believe that the realization of agreements will be reached - at least on a state line in a first stage - between the two countries. This would be of particular importance.

It has always been a concern of ours that a sharpening of the relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China should not occur, since we have considered and continue to consider that the good relations between these two socialist countries are in the interest of their own peoples, as well as of other countries - both socialist and non-socialist. A worsening of these relations would exert an unfavourable influence on the whole international situation. We consider that the existence of differing views should not lead in any way to military clashes, to conflicts; disputes should be settled exclusively by negotiations, by discussions and the differences of views should be left sometimes to be clarified by developments which finally demonstrate which is the righter standpoint.

QUESTION: Bearing in mind the firm support Romania gives to the Security Council Resolution of November 1967, how do you appreciate the possibilities of settlement of the Near East situation?

ANSWER: We consider that the Security Council Resolution of November 1967 provides a basis for a political settlement in the Near East.

We are worried by the aggravation of the situation latterly in that region. We have been particularly worried by the fighting which took place in Jordan. We consider it necessary that full agreement should be reached to ensure the cessation for good and all of this fighting. The realization of cooperation between the Arab states is part and parcel of stabilisation in the Near East. We were concerned about the prospect of an external intervention in the fighting in Jordan and firmly declared ourselves against any such intervention, for it would have led to fresh tension with most serious consequences to world peace.

We consider that continued efforts must be made for a political settlement of the Near East crisis, which should lead to the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied territories. It is not possible to conclude the conflict in

that region without the withdrawal of the troops. The realization of agreements must be reached in the Near East, which should guarantee security and independence to all the states - hence also to Israel. We should add to this something which, it seems, is not sufficiently well grasped everywhere: the finding of a solution for the Palestine population by taking account of its interests and wishes. In any case, one cannot speak of peace in the Near East without reaching a solution for meeting the demands of the Palestine population. We express our hope that efforts will be made along this line and that the conflict in the Near East will in the end be solved by means of negotiations.

QUESTION: The principles Romania is promoting in international relations - namely of respect for national sovereignty, fully equal rights and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states - have gained great support in many countries of the world. Romania's foreign policy is well known. I also want to point out, Mr. President, that I am profoundly impressed by the big progress recorded by Romania in domestic construction, especially if we take into account whence Romania has started after the Second World War.

Could you tell us, Mr. President, what is the present economic situation and the prospects of development of the country in the future?

ANSWER: I want to mention the fact that in promoting her foreign policy of many-sided cooperation with all the states, regardless of social system, Romania relies first of all on the successes won in her own economic and social development. Without a strong economy and without the fast rate development of the whole country, one could not conceive a foreign policy of the kind conducted by Romania. As a matter of fact, we believe that there is a perfect unity between the foreign policy and the home policy of any country - ergo also

of Romania - and that these two facets of policy condition each other.

Indeed, after the Second World War, Romania has won remarkable successes in her economic and social development. I believe that sufficiently telling is the fact that this year the country's gross industrial output will be about 17 times bigger than in 1938, the year when the highest output was achieved pre-war. New branches, inexistent in the past in Romania, have developed. We are manufacturing today trucks, automobiles, tractors, computers, chemical and oil-field equipment. Romania is among the first countries in the world producing oil-field equipment; we rank third in world output in this respect.

The high rate of development of the Romanian industry has been followed also by significant progress in agriculture, in the advancement of education, science and culture. In 1945 well-nigh 35 per cent of the population was illiterate in Romania; this state of affairs has been done away with since long; we have now switched over to compulsory ten-year schooling for all youth. We are attaching primordial importance to higher learning, to scientific research, which we consider fundamental factors of society's progress.

We also pay great attention to raising the population's living standards. I want to say that in this respect we still have much to do, but bearing in mind the inherited situation, we have achieved an appreciable improvement of the people's living standard and cultural level. Actually, this explains why the whole people backs the home and foreign policy of our State. Everything we are undertaking is aimed at building a better, more prosperous life for the citizens of Romania.

As for the targets of future development, I want to point out that we have already drawn up the new five-year plan for 1971-1975, a plan envisaging a continued growth of the country's economic potential at a sustained rate; an annual upwards ten per cent rate of growth of industrial output is

envisaged. Characteristic of the next five-year period will be not only a high rate of growth, but also the stress laid on the qualitative issues of the economic and social activity - on such issues as a higher quality of production, the growth of labour productivity and a higher efficiency of economic activity. We are concerning ourselves with the development of essential economic branches such as electronics, machine-building, chemistry and others. We shall not ignore at all but on the contrary we shall pay particular attention to the development of the consumer goods industry in the next few years.

Another important feature of the forthcoming period is increased concern for agricultural development. In this respect we have a vast programme of irrigations and land improvement, of expanded livestock breeding, of stepping up farm output. In order to give you a picture of these efforts, I should mention that one fifth of our future investments will go to agriculture.

By developing intensely economy as a whole, we wish to approximate the developed countries - in terms of per capita national income - to achieve a substantial rise of the people's living standard.

We are also concerning ourselves with the development of the other domains of social life. We endeavour to parallel the general material progress and the advancement of education and science by an ample activity for raising the cultural level of the population. We concern ourselves with creating conditions for an ampler participation of the people under most diverse forms in the conduct of social life, with enlarging the democratic framework of the conduct of our society.

Of course, the achievement of these targets - to which I have referred in fairly general terms - claims very big efforts. We shall appropriate over 30 per cent of the national income for investments under the next five-year plan. We maintain that we have to make these efforts so that Romania should rank among the peoples having an advanced economy and a high living standard. We appreciate that this is the only road to building

the many-sidedly developed socialist society that should ensure an increasingly complete satisfaction of man's material and spiritual requirements.

I appreciate that along this line, we have to amply cooperate with the other states; of course, we cooperate first of all with the socialist countries, but we want to expand relations and to amply cooperate with all the world countries. As I have said at the beginning, we want to develop cooperation also with the USA. International collaboration and cooperation help the progress of each country, the cause of world peace.

I would like to ask you, on concluding, to convey by the agency of your press, many wishes of prosperity and peace to the American people, and our wish to see a constant development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples.



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